BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

THE ROLE OF CHINA IN THE IDENTITY OF HONG KONG:

RE-DEFINING HONG KONG IDENTITY AND THE INFLUENCE OF IDENTITY POLITICS IN HONG KONG

BACHELOR THESIS

Bratislava 2017   **Barbara Kelemen**

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this bachelor thesis is my own work and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used academic and other sources of literature are referenced and listed in Bibliography.

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Abstract

This thesis examines to the concept of identity and the importance of the Other as a most crucial determination in the case of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) as an alienable part of China as known today. According to previous studies on Hong Kong Identity (Wong, 1996; Lau 1997), there is a pattern of polarization between 'Hong Kong identity' and 'Chinese identity'. This could be caused by dissociation from the political life in mainland but also by the internalization of different values and cultural habits in the case of Hong Kong. The aim of this thesis is to show that what is being witnessed today, in the period after the Umbrella revolution, is the rise of nationalist ideas, strengthened Hong Kong identity which is articulated in opposition to China and identity politics that influences opinions on autonomy and separatism in the Hong Kong politics. The major objective of my study is to describe Hong Kong identity after the revolution in 2014, mainly by examining different movements where the identity is being manifested. The second step is to show how the identity is becoming more influential in the area of politics and overall mood of the society in Hong Kong. The empirical part analyses different newspaper articles, official documents and politicized cases between Mainlanders and people from Hong Kong shown in the media, what can considerably form how people perceive themselves.

Pozícia Číny vo vzťahu k identite Hong-Kongu

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Abstrakt

Táto práca sa zaoberá konceptom identity a pozíciou Číny ako najdôležitejším faktorom a determinantom v prípade Špeciálneho Administratívneho Regiónu Hong-Kongu (HKSAR) ako neoddeliteľnou súčasťou Číny. Pri analýze predchádzajúcich štúdií o Hong-Kongskej identite (Wong, 1996), stálosť polarizácie medzi Hong-Kongskou identitou a Čínskou identitou je očividná, čo nie je iba výsledok disociácie Hong-Kongu od politického života v Číne, ale taktiež internalizácia rozličných hodnôt a kultúrnych zvykov. Zámerom tejto práce je ukázať že to, čo prebieha dnes, v období po Dáždnikovej Revolúcii, je rast nacionálnych ideí, zosilnenie Hong-Kongskej identity, ktorá je artikulovaná v protiklade ku Číne a že revolúcia, je jeden z najsilnejších vplyvov ktorý má dopad na politiku v Hong-Kongu dnes, čo sa prioritne preukázalo počas legislatívnych volieb v roku 2016. Hlavným zámerom tejto práce je opísať Hong-Kongskú identitu po revolúcii v roku 2014, hlavne prostredníctvom analýzy rozličných prípadov, ktoré boli spolitizované a podané ako týkajúce sa otázky identity. Druhým krokom je ukázať, že identita sa stáva čoraz silnejším faktorom v politike a celkovej nálade Hong-Kongu. Empirická časť pozostáva z analýzy novinových článkov, oficiálnych dokumentov a prípadov medzi Číňanmi z Veľkej Číny a obyvateľmi Hong-Kongu, ktoré boli prezentované v médiách, čo do veľkej miery ovplyvňuje ako ľudia vnímajú identitu samých seba.

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Introduction

Since 2014 and the Umbrella Revolution, Hong Kong has undergone major developments and has experienced number of public protests and riots. The peculiar political climate captured the attention of the media not only at the time of the revolution, but continues to be discussed as an important topic even today. As the next election of the Chief Executive is approaching and the one-China policy is being challenged more frequently, the question of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and its identity is becoming increasingly important.

The major objective of my research is to show that the escalated situation between China and Hong Kong, starting mainly during the Umbrella revolution is part of the process of enhancing and strengthening the sense of Hong Kong identity. While identity can be constructed and manifested in many ways, the argument of this thesis is based on the identity theory where the Other is the most important determinant for the identity. In the first chapter, the explanation of the theory where the Other is the one, towards which oneself identifies as being different, introduces the theoretical background for the topic. However, for the process of identification and differentiation the self needs to construct and engage in different narratives where this relationship between one and the Other is being demonstrated.

In the case of Hong Kong, one needs to firstly look at today's practical difference between political organization of Hong Kong and China and why these two groups have evolved in those ways, which is the content of the second chapter. The difference can be ascribed to contrasting histories, which have accounted for completely distinct development in terms of state and society and consequently led to the creation of different societies with different values and cultural habits. However, the very difference between two societies is not enough and as it has been mentioned before, one needs to look at different discourses which are being constructed among societies themselves. The analysis of journal articles and different media is trying to demonstrate those discourses that are mainly based upon and focused on drawing a difference and relationship between Mainland China and Hong Kong, is the objective of the third chapter. Overall, even though the analysis itself has been limited by language, since the analyzed documents and articles have been all written in English, they should be still seen as legitimate sources since English is one of the two official

languages of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, with Chinese being the second one.

The last chapter concerns 2016 Legislative Council Election and the explosion of Umbrella revolution in 2014 where thousands of Hong Kong residents occupied major parts of the city, and that not only surprised but also shocked the major Western countries. How is it possible that one of the most important financial hubs a business district was thrown into such a riot and paralysis? Roots of this problem go back into history to the establishment of the One country, two systems policy, under which, the culture and values of Hong Kong are to remain untouched until at least 2047. What is being shown in this chapter is that since 2012 national education controversy, which was proposing patriotic compulsory classes for every student in Hong Kong, the Chinese government has been increasingly trying to influence political and social situation in Hong Kong which escalated in 2014 Umbrella Revolution and had a profound effect on 2016 Legislative Council Election. Historic turnout, new fraction in the Legislative Council and the election of the activists from the Umbrella Movement were the major points and results of the election. These outcomes not only demonstrate the profound influence of ideas that have been manifested during the Umbrella Revolution, but are also an example of how the identity of Hong Kong is being constructed in opposition to China. To conclude the overall argument, closing part includes a summary of the previous arguments demonstrating their individual importance for the complex picture of the process of identity in the case of Hong Kong.

CHAPTER 1: Identity and the Other

1.1 Identity in the IR

Identity as a concept which is used not only in International Relations theories has a long tradition. Its penetration of the field of social sciences goes back to 1960s (mainly because of the influential work of Erik Erikson). Much has been written since that and there have been many attempts to define identity as a crucial element in international relations penetrating into the field of social and political analyses. While some of the theorists like Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000) define identity as being a product of social and political actions that is 'invoked to highlight the processual, interactive development of the kind of collective self-understanding, solidarity or ''groupness'' that can make collective action possible'(p.7), others like Erik Ringmar(1996) emphasized the importance of identity and the Other when forming our actions and interest. As it can be seen, in order to fully comprehend concept of identity, different approaches on its formation need to be analyzed.

1.2 The Other

One of the theorists' positions is that national identity is formulated in the relationship with the significant "Other", an entity towards which self identifies as the opposite. One of the main scholars on this topic is Iver B. Neumann who in his book *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity formation (1999)* writes about the struggle between two opposites, which is considered as the main source of identity formation. In this publication, he examines different ways how International Relation scholars look at the concept of identity from the self-other perspective. This occurs in 4 particular paths- the ethnographic, psychological, Continental philosophy and the Easter excursion path. The concept of identity formation in all of them is constructed around the self-other dynamics, where the individual identity is built upon the markers of difference between one and the Other. This "othering" thus becomes a vital process in self-identification and the core of social interaction. The Author claims that

everything can be used as a marker of otherness to which political meaning is then prescribed. Hence whether it is language or religion, it can be used as a building block of identity, if it is considered to be vital part in the differentiation towards the Other.

Another important scholar who recognizes the importance of the 'other' is Erik Ringmar. In his book *Identity, Interest and Action (1996)*, author focuses predominantly on the explanation of different actions such as war. At the beginning of the book he asks a fundamental question of why do we participate in wars and what is our motivation for this act. What stands at the core of his argument is the presumptions that human beings do not act/engage in games only because they want to win but also because they want to build a certain conception of who they are. He directly states that: 'We act, that is, not only because there are things we want to have, but also because there are persons we want to be.' (p.3). Author builds up the question of the whole problem around the example with the game playing. He claims that the reason why people play, is because they want to excel over others. However, it seems that what he is trying to say is the fundamental difference between winning itself and what does the act of winning symbolizes. In his understanding, people desire to win only because it is something what is desired by others and those it is through winning one can obtain recognition of the Other. In its true sense, games are not about utility payoffs but about identities. Even though in this book Ringmar is mainly concerned about the act of war, some of his conclusions are of crucial importance for understanding the concept of identity as such and how its existence in relation to the Other can influence process of decision making. It is our identity and loyalty to our community which shapes our interest, not the other way around.

However, when discussing nations and nationalism in political framework, it is a group identity which stands at the center of this political debate. Group identity might be referred to also as a group membership or social identity, and is an essential ingredient for obtaining political identity. In fact, political identity might be defined as a social identity with political relevance (Hudy, 2013). In order to understand how the identity is formed in a community and potentially leads to nationalism, other theories need to be discussed.

1.3 Nationalism and Community

The sole concept of community and how the sense of shared experience shapes the idea of the nation itself, has been elaborated by Benedict Anderson (1983). His definition of nation is concentrated around the concept of an imagined political community, which stands on two key ideas of limitations and sovereignty of the community. The community is imagined as a coherent group despite the fact that the members will never know other fellow-members, but will nonetheless claim their distinctiveness and integrity. The Author points out that the self-identification lays in a profound sense of belonging to a distinctive community. The main influence is the role of printed media, which serve as a catalyst to the whole process. Printed language provides the community with shared experiences and thus enhances creation of the same identity, even though 'they do not know each other, they belong together.' In the case of Hong Kong, the process of exclusion upon which the imagined community operates is directed towards China itself. This process not only encompasses the in and out-group dynamics, but also various characteristics that should and should not be shared by the community.

Once the sense of community has been established, there needs to be a clear distinction between the nature of the community itself. Ernest Gellner in his book Nations and Nationalism (1983) elaborates on the apparent difference between ethnicity and nationalism into the abstract definition and the concept of nationalism as a political principle. Apart from connecting those changes to the rise of industrialism, Gellner presupposes that all of the struggles of nationalism lead to the final goal of establishing a nation state. One of the author's main premises is that nationalism comes to power, when two communities fail in the process of assimilation, because of different culture or language. In fact, he says *Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self- consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist (p.71).'* In the case of Hong Kong and China, it can be argued that they both share similar culture only to a certain extent, while language is rather different. The rise of nationalism is then something that could have been expected, since there had been a lack of standardized education about "Chinese heritage". The outcome of this is that the recent political tensions, which are strongly connected with the nationalistic issues have, in a big part, the same goal as Gellner would argue - the establishment of their

own state, where the 'nation' would control the state.

On the other hand, there are some theorists who, in relation to nationalism and nation-construction, put higher emphasis on premodern nations and their role in the formation of modern ones. One of them, Anthony D. Smith, in his book *Nations and Nationalism in Global Era (1995)* claims that nations are natural ancient phenomena, which derive from pre-existing cultural heritage and certain ethnic structure. He stresses the importance of symbols, traditional values and myths which are inevitable for persistence of the nation state. The main focus is on the cultural aspect, which has been also pointed out as its weakest point. However, with the nationalistic discourse being on the rise, Smith's theory can be still discussed and seen as legitimate.

CHAPTER 2: History of Hong Kong's identity before the handover

2.1. Historical background

Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) as an inalienable part of China as known today, was returned to People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997, after more than 150 years of British rule during which Hong Kong was the official British colony with the strategic importance in promoting trade and investment in China. One of the promises from the agreement between China and Britain was the application of the policy of 'One Country, Two Systems, which was meant to guarantee a high degree of autonomy to Hong Kong. It was supposed to be govern as a special administrative region (SAR) and the system was to remain unchanged for 50 years. Important fact to mention is the difficulty which accompanied the whole process of unification between mainland China and Hong Kong. As Alvin Y. So (2011) points out in his paper, the whole process has gone through various crisis, where the policy of 'One Country, Two Systems' was strongly influenced and came into a being as the outcome of those crisis. The main purpose of this chapter is to highlight the most important factors and events in regards to identity, that happened before the umbrella revolution.

2.2 Impact of Chinese cultural revolution

In order to understand basic nature of Hong Kong's identity, the narrative needs to go back to British colonial rule. Importance of Chinese Communist Revolution (1949) appears as a crucial fact since it set up perfect conditions for the birth of what will be later called Hong Kong Identity. The revolution caused the major influx of over million Chinese from mainland. Edvard Hambro (1955, as cited in So, 2011) who was in 1954 headed a mission set up by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to study situation of Chinese refugees of Hong Kong, found out that as opposed to the earlier ones, these refugees were not able to return to China, which was not the case before the revolution. Even though Hong Kong's population has gradually grown in the

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period between 1840-1940, the migrants from mainland China would return and not integrate or become part of the Hong Kong society. 'Closing' of borders and strict borders control across China has caused difficulty for Chinese to return to their homes and forced them to remain in Hong Kong. Britain was actively suppressing any communist activity and infiltration into Hong Kong society by banning Chinese Communist Party and maintaining English as the language of instruction. In regards to education, the government in Hong Kong implemented broad education program between 1954-1961. Primary education alongside with the secondary schools were both provided free of charge to all children up to the age of 15 by the end of 1971. From the economic perspective, even though Hong Kong's import of food and water supplies were vital part of mainland's export and its international links, after the rapid inflow of refugees in 1945 Hong Kong started with the process of lesser economic dependency on China. It was not only because of the experience of disastrous influences of events that took place in Mainland China during the civil war but also because of the various Cold war embargo on China by United States (1949) or United Nations (1951) (Manly, 1951). Furthermore, government also engaged in housing policy, building industrial cities mainly with houses for immigrants avoiding that rises in the cost of living that could threaten the Hong Kong labor marked. International inflow of capital was completely free from any taxes or regulations while exchange controls were very limited. To sum up all of this, it can be said that after the Chinese cultural revolution Hong Kong was not only politically but also culturally and economically separated from Mainland China. As Ernest Gellner would point out, it is cultural similarity and cultural homogenization between Mainland China and Hong Kong which is being erased and thus create a legitimate basis for the environment for development of a different, Hong Kong identity.

2.3 One Country, Two Systems

HKSAR and Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China are both special regions which enjoy different degrees of autonomy. When on 1 July 1997 Britain signed the Joint Declaration with China, the policy of One Country, Two Systems was formally written into declaration and became a vital part of the agreement. In fact, it was only after that Beijing, while negotiating with British,

changed its position from complete sovereignty Resumption to the One Country, Two Systems position, when the public opinion shifted and became in favor of Chinese. Success of this policy is also being shown in the Article 31 of the Chinese constitution which has been added as a proof of Chinese dedication and provides a legal base for establishing Special Administrative Regions (Chinese Const. art. XXXI.).

However, the importance of this document can be understood from two viewpoints. First of all, fact that there was a need for the policy in order to sway public opinion from the pro-British position to the Chinese one, is quite significant. It provides an evidence that people themselves felt in favor of staying over the British rule, since they perceived themselves culturally more inclined towards Britain and did not want communist rule, already before the establishment of Hong Kong as SAR (Cheng, 1984). On the other hand, the implementation of the policy was itself an important step in creating or endorsing crucial differences between Mainland and Hong Kong. Just to mention a few fundamental characteristics of 'One Country, Two Systems' which considerably contrast with China are:

- maintenance of the economic capitalist system separated from China's communist system (Basic Law Art 5)
- autonomy and self-guarding over its economic, political and cultural affairs alongside with maintaining its own courts and laws (usage of English common law) (Basic Law Art 8)
- maintenance of the way of life of Hong Kong citizens, including values like freedom of speech, of association, of assembly and freedom to strike (Basic Law Art 2 & 27)

As it is being seen above, the establishment of One Country, Two systems policy and the following designation of Basic Law not only acknowledged the major differences between Hong Kong and China but also gave them a legal basis by making their maintenance a part of the joint declaration. However, what these events right before July of 1997 shows, is not a factor in creation of Hong Kong identity but rather a confirmation of how people at that time used to think about themselves as being citizens of Hong Kong- subscribing to different cultural, political and social values than Mainland China, not willing to support Chinese position until those differences

have been ensured and guaranteed by the constitution. In fact, it was this policy that gave way to the onset of the more complex process of creating stronger, different identity, what should be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: Hong Kong before the Umbrella Revolution

3.1 Cultural clashes with Mainlanders

After the handover in 1997, Hong Kong government has adopted Proactive Governance which means that they addressed a number of policies which were aimed at strengthening cooperation between Hong Kong and Mainland China. For example, the implementation of the facilitation arrangements under CEPA (Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement, 2003), positioning of cooperation with Guangdong as a part of the Framework Agreement and meeting their function in the development and enhancement of the Pearl River Delta region(PRD) (Commission on strategic development, 2014). SAR has also participated in different co-operation conferences with the Mainland while establishing five Mainland Offices.

However, the strengthened and more frequent co-operation between Hong Kong and Mainland led to the major increase in conflicts between Hong Kong citizens and Mainlanders. This is interesting because instead of the increased contact between Mainlander and Hongkongers creating sense of shared identity and bringing their culture together, it has caused the complete opposite. This fact shows that during intensified contact, the majority of Hongkongers opted for emphasizing difference instead of focusing on what they have in common. The difference between the two became the important marker and the main focus of the identification. This identification led to the creation of groups that were defined by one's own identification either as a 'Hongkonger' or 'Mainlander' resulting in numerous clashes between members of the two. The number of cases have attracted wide attention because of the broad media coverage and are usually explained as having been caused by cultural differences and heightened sense of local consciousness which contributes to the resistance to be assimilated by the Mainland (Commission on strategic development, 2014). In fact, as it is being seen in the cases itself, some local people perceive that there is a different way of life and civility in Hong Kong than in the Mainland, which not all the incomers are willing to adapt. Among these are predominantly: talking loudly, upstart mentality, urination in the streets or refusal to

queue up (Tan, 2012). In this regard, it is important to mention the 'Anti-locust' campaign where the word 'locust' represent Mainlanders (Lai, 2012). In February, Apple Daily published the advertisement which depicted Mainlanders as a giant locust looking at the Hong Kong with the description: 'Are you willing for Hong Kong to spend one million Hong Kong dollars every 18 minutes to raise the children born to mainland parents?' (About that Hong Kong 'Locust' Ad, 2012). This controversy alongside with other cultural conflicts have been discussed in the media, for example The Wall Street Journal Asia reporter Jason Chow, spoke about incidents in the video report in 2012 (Hong Kong Takes Swing, 2012). The story itself was framed as 'tensions between Hongkongers and Mainland Chinese', which itself is an example of how the group dynamics is being established also through public media with their influence on the identity. It can be said that the media and their usage of different representations is how it creates and gives certain legitimacy to the explicit ideas and values which are related and exported to the culture and identity in the society. As Marshall McLuhan (1964) points out, media is an important part of the process of shaping human affairs and associations which then later have social consequence. What is being seen in this example is the way in which media engages in a public discourse and instead of describing a certain conflict as a conflict between a woman with a child that was eating on a train and passengers, it depicts the situation as a clash of cultural values between Mainlanders and Hongkongers framing the whole scene and the way public thinks about the situation and thus about its identity.

On February 2014, groups of local people gathered in Tsim Sha Tsui, one of the most affluent districts of Hong Kong, and protested against Mainlanders. They called for the restriction on visitors and were strongly against IVS (Individual Visit Scheme which allows Mainlanders to visit Hong Kong on individual basis). As it has been reported by South China Morning Post (Kang-Chung, 2014) protesters were chanting slogans and waving placards with the slogans like 'go back to China' and 'reclaim Hong Kong', targeting Mainlanders as a main source of their discomfort.

Another controversy which polarized the society in Hong Kong was the urine incident from April 2014 (Wong, 2014). After that Mainland couple allowed their child to relieve in the streets and a passerby uploaded a video clip of the incident on the internet, there has been a major debate and conflicts among citizens. While some of the reporters called for a boycotting of Hong Kong or bringing children to the work on

Labour Day and allow them to relieve themselves there, local netizens called for online competition of Mainlanders urinating in public. The whole incident continued for several days and started to cool down after several weeks.

In all the cases mentioned above, the Mainlanders are perpetuated as being the Other-entity towards which Hong Kong citizens defines as the opposite. As it has been shown in the previous cases, they describe them as being 'uncultured', 'rude', 'impolite' or 'barbaric' (Li, 2014), with the Hongkongers feeling the sense of cultural superiority which is being mutually reinforced by cultural clashes caused by this difference. In this sense, distinctive way of life and different civility is a cultural trait used as a marker of difference which Hong Kong people use as one of the building blocks of their identity and around which they identify Mainlanders as the Others, those that are different.

3.2 Language Controversy

History of Hong Kong and China, not only plays an important role when it comes to the development of each society in terms of customs and values, but also affects the usage of language. While in Mainland China, the official spoken language is Mandarin Chinese, in the case of Hong Kong it is Cantonese. Difference between these two does not only lay in spoken language ("yu") but also in written language ("wen"). This disparity goes back to The Government of the People's Republic of China during 1950s which promoted usage of simplified Chinese characters as an attempt to increase literacy in rural areas of China.

On 24 January 2014, the Education Bureau posted an article on their webpage claiming that 'Cantonese is not an official language but dialect', which triggered the huge amount of criticism and sparked the debate in the society. Some of the online groups like 'Hong Kong language learning' incited people to email the Education Bureau which has subsequently removed the article and made an apology, stating that it had made 'an inaccurate interpretation of Cantonese.' (Tam & Lau, 2014). In the Basic Law of HKSAR, the article 9 specify the usage of an official language by allowing both Chinese and English (Basic Law Art 9). However, the article refers only to the written language and thus leaves the question of spoken language open.

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According to official data from the government 89,5% of population speak Cantonese while only 1,38% is able to speak Mandarin (Civil Service Bureau, 2016).

In a relation to the language and complicated relationship between traditional and simplified character, the case which has been reported by the media for several weeks has been an article about Mandarin Oriental Hotel written by for LegCo member Barrister Margaret NG. The article aimed to show the confusion caused by the Hotel which not only replace the name of the hotel from traditional to simplified Chinese characters, but has done so also in the case of the signs inside the building and hotel's lifts (Chugani, 2014). After some citizens showed their discontent and the several media published their pieces about the story, Mandarin Oriental Hotel decided to remove simplified Chinese characters and replaced them with traditional ones.

As Ernest Gellner in his theory of nationalism points out, in the case of two communities that do not share culture or language (what Gellner calls ethnicity) there are two possible scenarios: assimilation through standardized education or the exclusion from the society. However, when the group which has been excluded starts to push for political legitimacy, that is when the nationalism emerges. What the resistance of Hong Kong citizens in regards to language problem shows, is the lack of willingness to assimilate and the importance of language as a building block of their identity. The importance of language is not based only upon its ability to express identity, but also to create it. It also provides an opportunity to affiliate oneself within certain aspect of their background, consciously or unconsciously. On the other hand, it is also the way in which another difference, within the context of two groups is being created. In the case of China, it can be argued that the standardization of written Chinese is what keeps all spoken and different dialects of Chinese together. With Cantonese, the situation is more complicated also because of the different symbols in respect to Mandarin Chinese. However, the relationship between language and identity is always subject to change and the role certain language plays within certain context might be different from that of another language in different setting. This means that the significance of the language depends on its status in the society, which in the case of Hong Kong is being demonstrated as important. According to this logic, the one group which is trying to override differences not only created by language (in this case China) does so by eliminating markers of difference and so every

opportunity in which the group can construct its identity based upon these differences, thus pushing for assimilation. As Gellner suggests, the assimilation should be possible through the standardized education, which shall be discussed in the next section.

3.3 National Education Controversy

The controversy refers to the events starting in 2007 when the Hong Kong government tried to introduce 'national education' at the primary and secondary schools, which aimed at strengthening Chinese national identity and nationalist feelings towards China. The further plan was re-introduced in 2010 with the four-month consultation in 2011 and official onset in 2012. Lot of citizens criticized the compulsory classes as 'an attempt to brainwash city's children by the Chinese government in Beijing.' (Liu, 2012). Proof of the disagreement of Hong Kong people has been demonstrated on September 2012 when 90, 000 of them joined the protest against educational curriculum, even though government promised that the lessons will remain optional. Protesters besieged governmental headquarters with many participating in hunger strikes (Lau & Nip, 2012). The whole issue polarized the society between those who were in favor and the groups that have considered it unnecessary and were against it like the National Alliance Against National Education and the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (Chong & Tam, 2012). In fact, Moral & National Education caused a foundation of many activist groups like Scholarism or the National Education Parents' Concern Group. Scholarism criticized favorable and one sided interpretation of Chinese history and communism, while ignoring events like Tiananmen Square Massacre or the Cultural Revolution. Under the pressure from the massive protests in 2012 the government backed down on the national education, and has not been discussed until 2015 when several people proposed its revision in different context. As Bernard Chan, a deputy to the state legislature pointed out: 'In Hong Kong, most people do not accept having things foisted on them. Hongkongers prefer to have an option' (Lau & Zhao, 2015), the backlash from the public could have been caused by the unexpected sense of democracy and shared understanding of critical thinking, which is contrary to China.

Another, more recent example of a patriotic promotion is the West Kowloon's Cultural District Authority (WKCDA) announcement from December 2016, about the

collaboration arrangement with the Beijing's Palace Museum to establish a new museum in Hong Kong with the antiques from the Forbidden City. The total cost of the project was announced to be HK$3.5billion and raised a huge public discussion with many criticizing the Hong Kong government on lack of transparency. The former consultant for the cultural district Oscar Ho, the Chinese University Professor from the department of Cultural and Religious studies, criticized the project and said that the museum should have been put somewhere else, especially if it was just a means of promoting patriotism (Pooler & Weeks, 2016). People also criticized the lack of consultation with Legislative council and display of transparency. The head of WKCDA, Duncan Pescod replied to the critics by stressing the importance of cultural heritage and importance of the collection itself alongside with the Chief Secretary, Carrie Lam, arguing that since the project is fully funded by the Jockey Club it does not require the legislative council's approval (Wong, 2016). However, the way the whole issue was framed points out the importance of the divide between the government which is considered to be pro-establishment and the civil society, which considers the steps taken by the government as inappropriate and directed towards Beijing. In fact, as Professor Ho pointed out in the interview, the problem of the project is the way it was handled, the lack of respect to the totality of the West Kowloon Cultural District. He opposes the decision because he believes that the museum does not belong to the district and he sees the location of the museum, which will disturb the totality of the district, as a way of imposing some sort of cultural identity on the place. Even though he stresses out that he is not completely opposed to the idea, he lacks the explanation why the museum should be there and should not be considered just as a patriotic promotion.

Even though the Moral & National Education has never been properly implemented, the effort which was carried out from Beijing can be understood, from the view of Ernest Gellner, as an attempt to organize cultural hegemony which does not share the same culture or language through the standardized education. The backlash from Hong Kong's civil society and its unwillingness to accept it seems like opting for a second possibility- an exclusion from community. According to Gellner, in the second situation, if the community is excluded and starts to ask for a legitimacy, this is where the nationalism begins, which should be discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: Umbrella Revolution and its influence on current Hong Kong politics

4.1 Umbrella Movement

On June 10, 2014 Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China released the White Paper on The Practice of the 'One Country Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, which is considered as one of the main triggers of the Umbrella Revolution. The paper was instructing that "the high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong is not an inherent power, but one that comes solely from the authorization by the central leadership" (Information Office of the State Council, 2014, p.19). The protest itself started after the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) set limits for 2017 Chief executive election and 2016 Legislative election, which was in line with the decision by NPCSC in 2007 in regards to the Hong Kong electoral reform. The decision itself ruled out the possibility of universal suffrage in both elections in 2012, but opened up the possibility in obtaining it for the election of Chief Executive 2017 and LegCo in 2020. Protests which have taken place in the city center (Hong Kong Island, Central) were led predominantly by student groups (Scholarism, Hong Kong Federation of Students) and were later joined by other movements like Occupy Central with Love and Peace. Scholarism, was founded in 2011 by a group of secondary school students as a backlash to the controversy around national and moral education. After what the group has organized a protest with more than 120 000 students, it became an active social group arguing for a civil nomination in the 2017 Chief Executive election through the creation of charter signed predominately by the democratic Councilors from LegCo (But, 2013). Some of the proposals of Scholarism and the main idea of the charter which was formulated around the genuine universal suffrage through the equal right to nominate and to vote for the chief executive, were the same proposals that were at the ideological core of the Umbrella Movement as well. In fact, in September 2014 Scholarism alongside Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) launched a boycott of NPSCS, which ended up retaking the Civic Square. The protest ended up in chaos and the crowd was pepper-sprayed by the police. The arrest of Joshua Wong, founder of the movement, triggered the occupy protests in following

days joined by the Occupy Central with Love and Peace, lasting 79 days. Media often compared demonstrations in Hong Kong to the Tianamen protests evoking so the idea of a struggle for democracy and anti-mainland sentiment from the part of the Hongkongers (Kaixi, 2014). Protesters were labeled as pro-democratic and even though they were mainly demanding open and free elections, the whole situation was portrayed as a clash between Hong Kong and China. Clashes between students and police were described as violent and as police crushing the voices of protesters, while on social media protester were called as 'world's polite protesters' or non-violent. Even though the protests can be considered to be unsuccessful in their main objectives, they led to the further development of the Scholarism into political party advocating independence and determinism.

4.2 2016 Legislative Council Election

The legislative council election held in the beginning of September 2016 are considered by many as a turning point in Hong Kong's political history. Some of the most important changes were the emergence of a new generation politicians, increase in the support of localism and separatism and election of some of the post-occupy protesters and students. Legislative council, founded in 1843, is a body comprising 70 seats out of which 35 are geographical constituencies, 30 functional constituencies which are elected indirectly through different trade sectors with 5 super seats elected from a shortlist of district councilors. The Council's main function is to pass laws, approve appointments, and discussing bills with spending. Full election of the council started in 1995, but is often criticized for being undemocratic and with the need of reform (Zhang, 2011). Since the handover in1997 Legislative Council has been mainly dominated by the pro-Beijing camp through the success of some parties like Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, but also because of the functional constituencies (Griffiths & Kim, 2016). In fact, looking back to the Umbrella Revolution in 2014, the abolishment of functional constituencies was one of the four demand voiced by movements which participated on the protest (Chan, 2014). The 2016 LegCoo election were considered to be an important event right from the beginning since it was to be the first and biggest public poll since the Umbrella Revolution in 2014 and for the first time, some of the candidates called for independence for Hong Kong (Fitzpatrick, 2016). However, the outcomes of the election were surprising not only for the media but also for many lawmakers as well.

Some of the important issues to be discussed are: historic turnout, emergence of localism as a third camp and the election of democratic candidates.

Historic turnout

The historic turnout recorded during the 2016 Legislative Council election is one of the important aspects of this election in general. The turnout demonstrated the legitimacy of the outcome of the election, but also could be understood as a public response to the previously discussed issues and the Umbrella Revolution. As it has been seen during the past elections, increased and strengthened participation tended to be an effect resulting from the previous demonstrations in the society.

The first direct election of the legislative council was introduced in 1991, allowing to vote all of those aged 21 or above, for the majority of the elected members. Election subsequent to 1991, however, with the election in 1995 being the first fully elected legislative, changed the voting age to 18 or above. Even though polls were scheduled to close at 10:30am, the last vote cast at the polling station in Taikoo Shing was recorded at 2:30am with media transmitting a coverage of long queues with several hundred-people waiting to cast their vote (Cheung, Fung, & Lau, 2016). The record number of voters outweighed the former record from 2004 LegCo election, when 55.64 percent of voters decided to cast their ballots. In respect to the 2004 when 1 838 772 people have voted in the election, in 2016 the number has risen 2 202 283 out of an eligible 3.7 million electorate, creating almost 400 000 difference (Registration and Electoral Office, 2016). Some political scientists explain this increase in terms of the new voters that have been participating in social activism and in the election, were searching for the new faces, including Umbrella Revolution in 2014, problems with filibustering and dissatisfaction with current political situation and government (Liu, 2016). Even though the authorities increased the number of polling station from 549 to 771, some of the voters still criticized the Electoral Affairs Commission for being unprepared and underestimating the election turnout (Tong, 2016).

Table 1

Legislative Council Election Turnout Rate

YEAR	%
1991	39.20
1996	35.80
1998	53.30
2000	43.60
2004	55.60
2008	45.20
2012	53.05
2016	58.28

Note: Data from The Registration and Electoral Office of the Hong Kong Government

As it is being shown in Table 1, the election in 2016 recorded the highest turnout in the history of the Legislative Council election in HKSAR. The second highest turnout was in 2004, in the election which came immediately after the huge protest in 2003 against proposed national security legislation, so called Article 23 of the Basic Law. After the protest and criticism, the government announced on September 2003 to withdraw National Security Bill. Since the second biggest turnout took place right after the national security controversy, it demonstrates willingness of the Hong Kong society to mobilize when needed. When thinking about 2016 election when the mass mobilization of voters was even stronger, one must think about proper cause for such an effect. As some of the political scientist pointed out, this increase might have been caused by the dissatisfaction with local government, spread in support of localism and election of more pro-democratic movement and social activist, which should be discussed in the following subchapters.

Emergence of localism

Since its establishment as a Legislative Council of HKSAR in 1998, Council has been traditionally dominated by two political groups: pan-democrats and pro-Beijing camp. In fact, since the election in 1998, the majority of seats is always won by pro-Beijing camp, often referred to as pro-establishment. This political alignment is generally understood as being in line with the Communist Government of People's Republic of

China, whose members are often labelled as 'Beijing loyalists'. The camp itself promotes patriotism, Chinese nationalism, social stability and rule of People's Republic of China in Hong Kong (Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, 1992). The largest party of pro-Beijing camp is The Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB) which was founded in 1992. However, the economic and business sectors are mainly represented by the Business and Professionals Alliance for Hong Kong (BPA) and is now the second largest force in the Legislative Council. On the other hand, pro-democracy camp, which is in the opposition to the pro-Beijing one, developed out of the civil movement in 1970s before the handover in 1997. These movements were advocating for democracy and were supporting the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989. Political parties usually share values of liberal democracy such as the rule of law; human rights; a high degree of autonomy considered to be a natural consequence of the termination of the British colonial rule; the protection of freedom and a sound legal system (The Democratic Party, 2016). However, an important fact to point out is that pan-democrats usually agree on Hong Kong being inalienable part of China with the support of return Hong Kong's sovereignty to China. The forerunner of the pan democrats is Democratic Party which is a center-left, liberal party established in 1994, which is one of the most popular one alongside with Civic Party based in 2006. However, what has been witnessed in 2016 and claimed by different political scientists like Prof. Ma from Chinese University (as cited in Chai & Chui, 2016) was the entrance of the creation of another fraction in the legislative council- localist groups. The new localist politicians are still anti-establishment but instead of advocating for the revision of policies and reformation of some of the aspects of 'One Country, Two Systems' policy, they are proposing self-determination for Hong Kong with possible independence after 2047 (Youngspiartion, 2016). Nevertheless, even the ideologies inside the localist camp vary one from the other. Generally, they can be split into two different streams, one that is more militant and would comprise groups like Youngspiration or Civic Passion, while the other, more moderate stream could be reprinted by Eddie Chu Hoi-dick (Land Justice League) or Lau Siu-lai, Hong Kong activist and professor from Hong Kong Polytechnic University. As a Professor Law Wing-sang points out, 'localism' goes back all the way to the 1970s and expresses devotion for Hong Kong culture and values (Wong, Yang and Tsang, 2016). What is important to notice, is that while in the past localism was oriented towards the

preservation and cultivation of Hong Kong culture, nowadays the main interest of different localist movements is marked by anti-Chinese sentiment and struggle against Beijing, either as a struggle for independence or a greater autonomy. This is partly caused by the fear that the strengthened mainland integration will allow Beijing to exercise its political power and influence over Hong Kong to such an extent that Hong Kong culture and identity might extinct.

Chin Wan-kan, a Hong Kong scholar who is known for advocating localism and founding political organization Hong Kong Resurgence Order, in 2011 published a book called On the Hong Kong-City State which has triggered a public discussion about his advocacy of 'Hong Kong First' principle, where mainland tourists and immigrants are the ultimate threat to customs and culture in Hong Kong. The fact that Chin Wan-kan is often described and called as a 'Godfather of localism' (Kwan, Lam & Tsim, 2016), shows that what he describes as a major struggle and source of worries for Hongkongers is widely shared by other localists and stays at its center. In fact, in the video interview by South China Morning Post, Wan-kan speaks about Hong Kong and China as about two separate groups, where China should recognize Hong Kong and broaden its sovereignty on international level. He also stated that Hong Kong does not have to worry about democracy in China and he commented on pan-democrats as 'betraying Hong Kong' and having unrealistic ideas (Kao & Lau, 2016). These remarks alongside with his ideas about Hong Kong localism are in line with the fact that Hongkongers feel as a separate group where the main source of problems is China. At the same time, China is being at the center of Hong Kong's interest. It is not being ignored but acknowledged, which means that Hong Kong recognizes its importance and is trying to reach a dialogue with China while acknowledging its distinctiveness. It seems like that what is being witnessed today is a struggle of Hong Kong to move from the position of having a dialogue with China as someone who is similar, to the position of having a dialogue with China as someone who is fundamentally different, while this difference is at the center of the dialogue as such.

Another localist group often described as radical, is Hong Kong Indigenous, established in 2015. The convener of the group, Ray Wong Toi-yeung is not only the leader of the group but has also participated in the Umbrella Revolution and Occupy movement in 2014. He gained attention after his participation in Mong Kok riot, night

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of violent protests in one of the Hong Kong's busiest part in February 2016. In fact, Wong and groups spokesman Edward Leung, were later charged for their role in Mong Kok riot (Siu, 2016). The group is often labelled as militant, because of their advocacy of using a force in resistance (Mok, 2016). However, what is important to point out is the cause of the riot in the first place- the defense of a street hawkers on the Chinese New Year. The culture of street hawker and vendors of a street food which sell traditional Hong Kong style food is a very famous attraction not only for tourists but also for local people who usually gathered in the areas known for their presence (Mong Kok, Kwun Tong). This is not only demonstrated in numerous city guides where the local street food is being highlighted as 'must-eat' experience (Sam the Local, 2015) but also in pop-culture and Chinese movies, for example in the movie of famous Hong Kong director Stephen Chow(Chow, 1996), *The God of Cookery,* street food and food stalls are being the central theme demonstrating its importance for Hong Kong culture. The same claim has been made also by The Michelin Guide in 2016, claiming that 'Street food is part of the local way of life, part of everyday life.' (Agence Fance-Presse in Hong Kong, 2015). However, in 2015 the Legislative Council Panel on Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene Subcommittee on Hawker Policy have released proposal on hawker management stating a need to arrange new hawker licenses, improve the management and operations of hawkers and hawker areas and establish district basis. According to proposal, the number of hawkers with the official license in 2015 was around 6 300 in comparison to 20 000 in 1980s (Food Safety and Environmental Hygiene Subcommittee, 2015). Hong Kong Government has articulated its open mindless towards proposals and made it clear i is trying to manage hawkers with the aim of safeguarding public health and safety, but still was opting for a soft approach towards whole issue. However, on February 8, 2015 it was the government's crackdown on unlicensed street food vendors which led to the escalation of the violent protests and clashes between police and protestor. As Li Xueying (2016) pointed out, the police's crackdown on something which has been considered an important Hong Kong tradition especially during Chinese New Year's holidays, is in line with the fear of Hong Kong's culture and values being under the threat by China, which is shared by many locals and young activists. In this case, the Other is represented by the police and government, which is believed to be representing China. Again, the sensitivity of Hong Kong people about their culture and possible efforts of Beijing to suppress the culture and tradition, refers to the

importance of distinctive culture in the creation of independent nation, which is the biggest fear of Chinese government in Beijing.

In fact, Chinese disapproval of the localists' struggle for independence was demonstrated in pre-election period, when the leader of Hong Kong Indigenous Edward Leung Tin-kei was disqualified. Leung was banned from contesting by the returning officer of the New Territories East constituency (Cheng, 2016). However, he was not only candidate to be disqualified. Overall, six candidates were banned from running in the Legislative Council Election 2016, among which were Chan Ho Tin of Hong Kong National Party, Yeung Ke-cheong from Democratic Progressive Country of Hong Kong, Nakade Hitsujiko from Nationalist Hong Kong, Alice Lai Yee-man from Conservative Party and Chan Kwok-kung pro-independence district councilor,
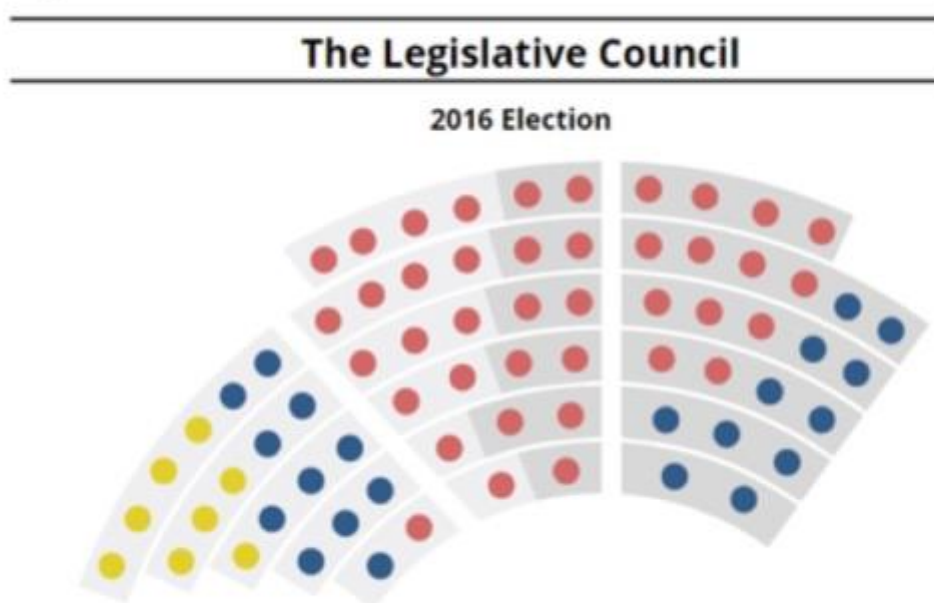
Figure 2

Figure 2. Outcomes of the Legislative Council Election 2016. Adapted from Lau & Chung (2016)

first five of them considered to be from localist parties.

Despite all the efforts from the side of Chinese government, as it is being shown in Figure 2, localists succeeded in gaining eight seats (yellow) in the Legislative Council, thus creating a third fraction, alongside with the pro-democracy camp (blue) and the pro-establishment camp (red). The election of localist lawmakers is one of the

aspects to be discussed in the following subchapter.

Election of pro-democratic candidates and activists from Umbrella Revolution

The support of democratic camp and the election of activists from the Umbrella Movement are another important outcome of the 2016 Legislative Council election. The election of these candidates shows the public support of values of democracy and freedom shared by the majority of newly elected lawmakers who participated in the Umbrella Revolution. Moreover, the 2016 election was a first public poll since the Umbrella Revolution and was expected to be affected by revolution's ideology.

Even though this support of localist and democratic candidates was evident and expected to affect the outcomes of the 2016 election, the extent to which it had been manifested shocked almost everyone. Out of the 70 seats in the Legislative Council, 8 of them were ascribed to localist candidates and 22 to pan-democratic camp, while four pan-democratic veterans lost their seat thus signaling so the start of a new era (Ng, 2016). Many ascribed this change to the fact that the majority of people want to see change and new faces in politics. The major shift between those who lost their seats and the lawmakers that gained seats is the more radical approach towards Hong Kong's relation with China, advocacy for self-determination and universal values of democratic society on the side of the younger, newly elected candidates.

One of the most important and prominent victories is ascribed to the total winner who received the highest numbers of votes Eddie Chu Hoi-dick, member of a social activist group Land Justice League, advocating for the ability of Hong Kong people to decide their own future, with referendum and independence being possible way how to achieve that (Ng, Lo, & Lam, 2016). Chu has a history as a social activist and foreign desk reporter. In 2006, Chu joined the fight for preservation of Star Ferry Pier and the Queens Pier, both historical piers in Victoria harbor in Hong Kong. He is well known for his environmentalism and heritage preservation opinions manifested not only in these cases of preservation of Piers which were at the end torn down anyway, but also in many others like the case of unpopular express rail link between Hong Kong and China (Sala, 2016). After Chu gained the trust of villagers which elected him into Legislative Council with more than 84, 000 votes, he promised to perform his Legislative Council role in a spirit of investigative journalism and follows the

public housing development issue in Hong Kong (Leung, 2016). Chu also expressed his support and received in in exchange with many activist from Umbrella Revolution and Occupy Central Alex Chow Yong-kang, which established an important link between him and Umbrella Revolution (Lau et al., 2016).

Another important elected candidate is a student and one of the founder of the political party Demosistō, Nathan Law Kwun-chung. First of all, Demosistõ is a pro-democracy political party, but sometimes also considered to be localist. One of the founders is Joshua Wong, a former leader of the group mentioned earlier- Scholarism. The main objectives of Demosistō is foundation of politics of progressiveness, overcoming differences among ethnicities and genders, social justice but also to reclaim Hong Kong's autonomy (Demosistō, 2016). However, one of their most important projects is the future of Hong Kong after 2047 realized through 'Charter of Hong Kong', which should be discussed and formed by the agreement among the people of Hong Kong. Demosistō believes in lack of legitimacy of the Basic Law and it aims at creating future of Hong Kong through the means of democracy alongside with the proposals for future referendum. Also, Demosistō's interpretation of 1997 Handover depicts Hongkongers as being 'forced voiceless' (Demosistō, 2016) and thus not being able to self-determine their own future. The group refers to the period after 2047 as a *Second Question of Hong Kong* which should lead Hong Kong to the liberation from the Central Government to the democracy and self-determination. Since in their opinion, the Central Government failed to upholding principles of 'High Degree Autonomy' and 'rule of Hong Kong people over Hong Kong', as stated in Basic Law, Demosistō sees the project of organizing Charter of Hong Kong alongside with the deliberation of Hong Kong as the only way. All of these goals are summarized in 4 basic beliefs and goal of the party Demosistō: Self-initiation, Self-standing, Autonomy and Self-determination. The election of Nathan Law is a significant step not only because of the nature of the party, but also because of his personal background. Law was an Occupy student leader which links him directly to the Umbrella Revolution. He was considered to be one of the most popular candidates in 2016 election and has been elected as a youngest (23) lawmaker in Legislative Council ever elected (Lau et al., 2016).

The election of Lau Siu-lai, lecturer at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University and

activist, also captured the attention of the media because of her political background and long history of social activism. In 2014, Lau established political party Democracy Groundwork and started to give lectures on democracy and social justice, being also interested and advocating for hawker's rights. She is regarded to be a member of the localist camp, even though she refers to Hong Kong independence as rather unrealistic she advocates for high degree of autonomy and protection of Hong Kong culture (Ng, 2016).

However, from the more militant camp of young localist, two lawmakers have been elected: Sixtus "Baggio" Leung Chung-hang and Yau Wai-ching, both from the political party Youngspiration. The party has emerged after the Umbrella Revolution, founded by Baggio Leung, with the aim to represent Hong Kong people and their rights for preservation of the local culture and the right to self-determination. According to South China Morning Post and its article published in August 2016, Baggio Leung believes that the crucial for Hongkongers is to think in terms of "us" and "them" in respect to Mainlanders, otherwise the request for Hong Kong to determine its own future would not make sense (Cheung & Fung, 2016). This statement does not only confirm the idea that some people already think in these paradigms of 'us' and 'them' where Mainland China is the Other, but also shows its necessity in order to achieve Hong Kong's self-determination. Both Baggio Leung and Yau Wai-ching expressed their priority to fight for self-determination, but after the disqualification of Edward Leung avoided to talk about independency. However, Beijing's concerns about Youngspiration and newly elected lawmakers did not take long to act and came to play an important role in what is known as oath-taking saga.

Oath-taking controversy or Oath-taking saga refers to the series of event which took place at the inaugural meeting of the legislature on October 12, 2016. On that day, 13 legislators used the ceremony of oath-taking as an opportunity to express their protest towards the Central Government in China by shouting different expressions, making extra statements in their oath, mispronouncing certain words, variating words, making long pauses or wearing different accessories referring to idea of Hong Kong independence (flag with the sign 'Hong Kong is not China) or the Umbrella Revolution (Cheung, Lau & Ng, 2016). However, it was oath of Baggio Leung and Yau Wai-ching that were pronounced invalid by the Legislative Council secretary-

general Kenneth Chen. The celebration of pro-democratic camp for which the election was a significant victory, changed overnight, to the fear of majority of newly-elected lawmakers of being disqualified for their oaths. Disqualification of Leung and Yau was significant also because of the proportion of the seats in geographical constituencies where democrats held 19 seats while pro-Beijing camp only 16. This fact was important because some changes to the rules require majority in both geographical and functional constituencies which put democratic camp to the more advantageous position. Nonetheless, after the oath-taking controversy the difference between those two narrowed down to 17 and 16.

Important turning point, however, was the interpretation of the Article 104 (refers to the oath taking) of the Basic Law by National People's Congress Standing Committee on 7 November 2016 (Hong Kong Free Press, 2016). Many objected such step being taken by Beijing government, arguing that it can undermine the independence of the judiciary power which should be granted by the Basic Law stating that: 'The courts of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall exercise judicial power independently, free from any interference (Basic Law Art. 85).' Even though The Hong Kong Bar Association, labeled as 'Hong Kong's top legal body' (Lee, 2016) expressed its concerns about the Beijing's interpretation and its potential impact on Hong Kong and its independent judiciary, Beijing insisted on the interpretation which should be delivered before the court's ruling. The interpretation led to the protest on November 6 with more than 12 000 people participating (Haas, 2016), but did not stop Beijing from passing the interpretation of the Article 104. After the Hong Kong's High Court ruled that Leung and Yau must vacate their seats, Chief Executive Leung Chung-ying launched a legal offensive against another four candidates from pan democratic camp Leung Kwok-hung, Nathan Law Kwun-chung, Edward You Chung-yim and Lau Siu-lai. The case has been adjourned till the February 6, 2017 allowing all four lawmakers to prepare their cases. The decision is yet to come.

What all of this demonstrates is not only an increased support of democratic camp, but support for Umbrella Movement activists and their ideas. The election 2016 being the first public poll after the Umbrella Revolution showed a huge support from a public towards more democratic society and democratic values, especially by electing candidates that share those ideas (Nathan Law, Lau Siu-lai or Baggio Leung) with the

democratic candidate and social activist Eddie Chu Hoi-dick winning the whole election by receiving the highest number of votes. In addition, the third fraction of local politics- localism, which builds on the nationalistic ideas of sovereign Hong Kong independent from China, seems to be in the process of becoming stronger and more popular, which has been also manifested during the last Legislative Council election.

What is self-evident from the oath taking saga is the apparent discomfort of Central Government with the idea of more democratic Legislative Council. The legal offence launched by Legislative Council secretary and later by Chief Executive Leung Chung-ying can be seen as a step of China against Hong Kong nationalism and nationalistic ideas and while two of the lawmakers have been already disqualified the rest of decision is yet to come. Protests organized against Beijing's interference with the juridical system clearly demonstrates the public discontent with the way the whole issue is being treated and while some of the professionals or lawmakers argue for a higher degree of self-determination, it seems like current Hong Kong Government is much more inclined towards Beijing and Central Government which frames the whole problem as a problem between Hong Kong people and Chinese government, where China is the Other in opposition to which Hong Kong is trying articulate its own identity.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was not to offer a precise definition of Hong Kong identity, but rather to describe the way in which the identity is being formulated, especially in the period after the Umbrella Revolution in 2014. The second part referred to the influence of Umbrella Revolution and its ideological core on nowadays politics, which has been manifested especially during 2016 Legislative Council Election. The argument being made in the reference to the Hong Kong identity, has been focused on the importance of the Other as a crucial determination and constitutive element of one's identity, as being argued by Iver B. Neumann (1999). The focus of the third chapter was to show diverse markers of difference which are being used to demonstrate different situations in which Hongkongers perceive China as the Other, the one that is different from 'us' and who is making the identity of Hongkongers relational, thus defined on the basis of the relation with the Other. After the revision of the articles written by local media and official state documents, several cases like cultural clashes with mainlanders, language controversy or national education controversy, have been presented as crucial moments which caused public protests and strong reactions from Hong Kong citizens, which involved highlighting the difference between Hongkongers and Mainlanders from Mainland China. Given the fact that all cases were treating cultural issues and culture is being regarded as one of the main building blocks of the identity, it can be said that these issues were also inevitably tackling subject of identity in Hong Kong. While the national controversy of standardized national education and the effort from the Chinese Central Government can be understood as an attempt to engage Hong Kong in the process of cultural assimilation, reaction of Hong Kong people and public backlash against it can be seen as a proof of the Hongkongers' shared awareness of their distinct identity.

The fourth chapter revisits the Umbrella Revolution and its ideological core which was surrounded mainly around four major requests of occupiers towards the HKSAR government. Even though the revolution was not successful in its practical outcomes, it was strongly supported by public until it has become impractical because of the worsening conditions and public transport inconveniences. However, because of the strong initial public support, it was expected that the legacy of the revolution is going to manifest itself during the 2016 Legislative Council Election. In fact, as it has been shown in the chapter, the election was labelled as a turning point in Hong Kong's

political history with its historical turnout and changes it has brought. This thesis focused on the three major outcomes, which were all strongly connected to the Umbrella Revolution: historical turnout, emergence of the third fraction within politics and election of activists from Umbrella Revolution, pro-democratic and localist candidates. After the comparison with the elections in previous years it can be said that the legacy and ideas of Umbrella Revolution influenced and continues to influence current politics in Hong Kong, with many politicians continuing in voicing the same demands as during the Umbrella Revolution. This is important because it shows that ideas promoted during the Revolution, which were based on the distinctiveness of Hong Kong and its struggle with China, are still being voiced and considered important. As it has been shown, one of the main reasons Umbrella Revolution has taken place, was a public backlash caused by National Education Controversy but also increasing indifference towards influx of mainlanders. The fact that the legacy of Umbrella Revolution has such a strong position in Hong Kong's society nowadays, demonstrates that these views and beliefs are still widely shared by public.

What has been demonstrated in the first part, the identity formulated in opposition to the Chinese Other, is an important link to the nowadays politics where the majority of discourse and issues is connected with the topic of the relationship between Hong Kong and China. The distinctiveness between those two is often formulated, not only by the media, but also political leaders themselves. These findings do not only help in understanding the nature of modern Hong Kong identity, but could be a guideline to the comprehension of Hong Kong's politics. Just in few months Hong Kong is will witness the most expected 2017 election of the Chief Executive, what is going to be a determinant in the history of Hong Kong. On the other hand, if the government fails to deliver this promise, according to recent trends, public backlash and protests could be expected. It can be said, that a critical alteration of the relationship between the Mainland and Hong Kong is going to be inevitable.

In this thesis, I suggested that instead of offering a precise definition of Hong Kong identity, we should look at it as a more dynamic process which is being constituted by the presence of the Other. It can be said that with the recent happenings in politics, a stronger presence of identity politics can be expected, while the discourse of Hong Kong-Mainland relationship has already entered the arena of 2017 Chief Executive

election, signifying so the importance of upcoming events. However, as much as stories can change, even the identity of Hong Kong can possible undergo a completely different development than the one being described in this research. Thus, the way in which my analysis has been developed only hints at its possible evolution, but should not be understood as unalterable.

Resumé

Bakalárska práca *Pozícia Číny vo vzťahu k identite Hongkongu* sa zaoberá analýzou politickej identity Hongkongu vo vzťahu k Číne a jej manifestáciou. Práca sa začína úvodom, ktorý načrtáva stručný prehľad práce, štruktúru kapitol a akým spôsobom bude analýza prebiehať. Prvá kapitola sa zaoberá teoretickým pozadím práce a rozličnými teóriami na ktorých sa práca zakladá. Začiatok kapitoly vysvetľuje hlavné princípy formácie identity a dôležitosť identifikácie vo vzťahu k protikladu. Tento konceptuálny princíp výrazne súvisí s danou témou, keďže následná analýza sa bude sústrediť na situácie, v ktorých sa rétorika obyvateľov Hongkongu sústredí hlavne okolo identifikácie rozdielov a vykresľovaní Číny ako skupiny, voči ktorej sa Hongkong stavia do protikladu a tým konštruuje svoje identitu.

Druhá kapitola tejto práce sa zaoberá Hongkongom a formáciou jeho identity v období pred rokom 1997 a jeho odovzdaním Číne. Kapitola ponúka krátky prehľad histórie a vysvetlenie vplyvu Čínskej kultúrnej revolúcie na formovanie Hongkonskej kultúry a jej odkloneniu sa od pevninskej Číny. Ďalej sa táto kapitola zaoberá samotným princípom 'jedna krajina, dva systémy', ktorý sa dodržiava na území Hongkongu v dnešnej dobe a súvisí s politikou jednej Číny. Princíp je dôležitý nie len preto lebo vysvetľuje akým spôsobom Hongkong funguje ako osobitná administratívna oblasť Číny, ale načrtáva aj problematiku a zdroj problémov, ktoré sú hlavnými príčinami nespokojnosti občanov Hongkongu.

Tretia kapitola sa sústredí na samotnú analýzu Hongkongu v období pred dáždnikovou revolúciou a vzťahu k pevninskej Číne. V tejto časti sú hlavným predmetom analýzy média a ich interpretácia mnohopočetných problémov medzi Hongkongom a pevninskou Čínou. I keď analýza sa zakladá na mediálnych článkoch, ich tvrdenia sú mnohokrát podložené priamymi vyjadreniami obyvateľov Hongkongu či politickými lídrami. Ďalším zdrojom analýzy sú oficiálne správy a dokumenty politických strán, ktoré sa mnohokrát vyjadrujú k vzniknutým problémom medzi Hongkongom a pevninskou Čínou. Centrálnou myšlienkou analýzy tohto komplexného vzťahu sa stáva jeho vykresľovanie a interpretácia, ktorá je založená predovšetkým na odlišnostiach a vykresľovaní Číny ako 'toho druhého', odlišného

partnera a protikladu k seba definícii.

Štvrtá kapitola tejto prace nadväzuje na predošlé kauzy z predošlej kapitoly a vyúsťuje do opisu Dáždnikovej Revolúcie a jej ideologickými základmi, tak ako aj vplyvom na politickú situáciu v Hongkongu dnes. Druhá časť tejto kapitoly sa zaoberá dopadom Dáždnikovej Revolúcie na Legislatívne voľby 2016 a ich výsledkami. V tejto časti sú dopodrobna vysvetlené problémy ktorými sa zaoberajú novozvolené politické hnutia a ich reprezentácia vzťahu medzi pevninskou Čínou a Hongkongom, ktorá je hlboko spätá s reprezentáciou tohto vzťahu médiami, tak ako aj občanmi Hongkongu. Dôležitosť tohto vzťahu sa potvrdila hlavne zvolením nových, lokálnych strán, ktoré vytvorili novú frakciu v Legislatívnom Koncile a dosadili do popredia reprezentantov ktorí nadväzujú na odkaz Dáždnikovej Revolúcie a jej ideologické základy.

Záverečná časť tejto práce ponuka stručné zhrnutie predošlých poznatkov a analýzy ktorou sa táto práca zaoberala a poukazuje na dôležitosť vzťahu medzi pevninskou Čínou a Hongkongu, ktorý sa stáva hlavným bodom záujmu a záležitosťou politického života v Hongkongu. Taktiež potvrdzuje dôležitosť pevninskej Číny a jej postavenie vo vzťahu ako hlavného protikladu, ktorý pomáha pri seba identifikácii Hongkongu, čo je mnohokrát formulované nie len zo strany médií, ale aj samotných politických reprezentantov. Záver tejto časti sa venuje dôležitosti tohto vzťahu pre budúcnosť Hongkongu a jeho dopadu na dlho očakávane voľby hlavného exekutívneho predstaviteľa.

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